1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

182x 301

appropriate occasions some of the important social sentiments, thereby maintaining them at the necessary degree of energy required to maintain the social cohesion.

182x 531

To complete the discussion of ornament in general it is necessary to refer very briefly to the ornamentation of objects such as bows, canoes and baskets. Such ornamentation consists of (1) incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body, (2) painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.), (3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the *Dendrobium* (baskets, etc.), and (4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.). The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the social value of the person. Thus the pattern painted on a canoe with white clay and red paint is the same as that on the body of a dancer. It would seem, therefore, that the ornamentation of utensils is a means of expressing or marking the social value of the decorated object, and it might even be held that the application of ornament to utensils is really a matter of ceremonial. Just as a newly married man is painted with the snake pattern which wears off and is not renewed, so a new canoe or a new South Andaman bow is painted with the same pattern as soon as it is finished, and after this pattern wears off it is not renewed. It is the act of bringing a new canoe or bow into use that is the occasion of the ceremonial expression of its value, if we may so regard the painting. A new relation is established between the society and an object, which thereby acquires a special social value, just as a youth acquires a special new social value at the conclusion of one of the initiation ceremonies. This example is sufficient to show that at least there is nothing in the ornamentation of utensils that conflicts with the explanation of bodily ornament given in this chapter[1].

[1] In order to carry the analysis further it would be necessary to consider in detail the whole question of the relation of art and ceremonial, and that of the social function of art which is involved in it, and also to deal with the notion of "value" as it appears in primitive societies. The material from the Andaman Islands is not suitable for the discussion of these problems.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 The advantage of having a knot at one end of the string seems to be that should the string be stretched by use it can be tightened by altering the position of the knot.

At the point where the nock of the arrow is placed when the bow is drawn, it is usual to serve the string over with thread of *Anadendron* fibre.

The peculiar features of the South Andaman bow depend on the fact that the bow takes advantage of the greater toughness and elasticity of wood that has been compressed in the course of its growth. When the bow is drawn the strain does not fall evenly, but, by reason of the shape of the bow, is concentrated on one portion, namely the lower portion of the bow where it is curved outwards. This is easily seen when a bow is strongly drawn, for from the S-shape that it has before, it becomes very nearly true arc-shaped when fully drawn. The lower portion of the bow works as though hinged, and thus the strain is largely borne by the curved portion of the bow. Now this portion is cut from the concave side of a tree that has been bent while growing, and consequently the fibres of the wood are here stronger, tougher and

[531]

Fig. 10. Ornament on South Andaman bow

more elastic. The result is that for a given amount of energy spent in drawing the bow a greater force of propulsion is given to the arrow than with a bow of the Little Andaman type.

The breadth of the bow is necessitated by its shape, for if it were narrow the string would slip round on to the outside of the bow. The narrowing at the handle is necessary for holding the bow. The adoption of tapered ends instead of shoulders is a definite improvement as it makes the bow less liable to split at the ends.

411 The bows of the South Andaman group of tribes are always decorated with incised patterns. The conventional pattern is shown in
531 Fig. 10. One line of such pattern runs down each edge of both the inside and the outside of the bow, and on the inside a similar line of pattern runs down the middle. When bows are newly made they are often also decorated with designs in red paint and white clay, particularly if they are intended as gifts. These painted designs soon wear off and are not renewed.

411 In these tribes bows are sometimes made of a size so large as to be almost useless for hunting. One such bow, now in the Cambridge

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

824 291 Little Andaman to make the tassel that women wear over the pudenda. The women of the North Andaman formerly wore a tassel of this fibre, but have now discontinued the custom, since their contact with the South Andaman. In the Great Andaman tribes this material has 824 important ceremonial uses. It is called *kəro* in Aka-Jeru and *ara* in Aka-Bea, and has been frequently mentioned in this volume. A tassel of the fibre is suspended near the grave of a dead person and at the entrance of the village at which the death took place. In the North Andaman a suspended cane hung with a fringe of the fibre is erected for the peace-making ceremony. (See Plate XIX.)

Two plants that were not identified are used in the North Andaman for making baskets. The methods of preparing these will be described later.

824 291 The natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of the leaves of the *Pandanus Andamanensium* for making belts for women and ornaments that are worn on ceremonial occasions. These leaves do not seem to be used in the Little Andaman.

824 531 The pods of one or more species of *Dendrobium* are collected by the natives of both Great Andaman and Little Andaman. They are roasted in the fire, until the outer skin turns a bright yellow, and this is torn off in strips and used for ornamenting nets, baskets, rope, etc.

824 The above description includes all the more important vegetable substances used by the Andamanese for their rope, string, netting, and basket-work. There are many other substances that they might use if they wished, of the properties of which they are fully aware. Their knowledge of the trees and plants of the forests and of the peculiar properties of each is very extensive. They themselves say that they use only those that best serve their purposes.

283 The Andamanese make rope and string or thread, but in all cases it is only two-ply. Rope is made by men only, and is used for the lines of turtle harpoons, and was formerly used for turtle nets. The ropes made from *Hibiscus* fibre are very strong and durable, being quite as good as the best hempen ropes of the same diameter. In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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The space between the top of the weaving and the rim is to admit of strings being tied across the mouth of the basket to keep its contents safe.

A handle of *Hibiscus* fibre is attached to the rim and rests across the front of the chest when the basket is carried on the back.

South Andaman baskets are sometimes ornamented, in the process of making, with strips of *Dendrobium* skin, applied horizontally by overlaid interlacing. The strip of *Dendrobium* skin is laid over the weft and woven in with it for one turn round the basket. I have never seen ornamentation with *Dendrobium* skin applied to the South Andaman baskets by any method save this one.

Patterns of red paint and white clay are occasionally painted on baskets when they are newly made. Shells are sometimes attached to different parts of the basket by thread, for the purpose of ornament.

In the North Andaman, baskets are made that differ in several important features from those of the South Andaman. They are not made of cane but of two different materials. One of these is the stem of a creeper called *čup-ṭoi*. Lengths of the creeper are cut and dried and then split lengthways into two or three pieces according to their size. The outer bark or skin is then scraped off with a *Cyrena* shell. These strips are to form the stakes or warp of the basket. The other material is another creeper called *bobi*. The long tough tendrils of this plant are taken and the soft outer sheath removed by drawing the tendril through a piece of split cane or bamboo bent double so that the tendril is scraped between the two inner surfaces. The fibre that remains is split longitudinally into two pieces and dried.

A bundle of strips of the *čup-ṭoi* is taken, sufficient in length and number for the required size of basket. The bundle is divided into two equal bundles and these are tied together in the middle crossways with thread. This cross forms the beginning of the basket. The weaving is begun with thread, which is slewed in and out between the warp, from 4 to 7 spiral turns being made. During this process the centre of the basket, i.e., the cross, is pressed beneath the heel into a slight hollow made in the ground, to give it a curve which, in the finished basket, will form the "kick." The thread is tied, the bottom is turned upside down, the stakes are bent back and the weaving is continued, not with thread but with strips of *bobi*, till a short distance from the top of the basket, and then three or four rows of wrapped-twined work are made, the strip of *bobi* being coiled round the basket and attached to the uprights with thread. A rim is made of a strip of cane bent into a circle. This is placed inside the uprights and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The most interesting of the Andamanese domestic utensils is undoubtedly the cooking-pot. Pots are made in all parts of the Andamans where suitable clay is to be found. The clay is obtained and is freed as far as possible from stones and gritty matter with the hands. It is then moistened with water and kneaded on a board consisting of a portion of a broken canoe. It is worked very stiff and after kneading is rolled beneath the palm of the hand into long thin rolls. These are built up into a pot by coiling, the requisite degree of thickness being obtained by pressure of the thumb and first finger. When the pot has been built up to the required size and shape, the surface, inside and out, is moistened and is scraped over in all directions with an *Arca* shell. The pot is dried in the sun for a few hours and is then baked by placing inside and around it pieces of burning wood. The pot often cracks in the baking, and another has to be made.

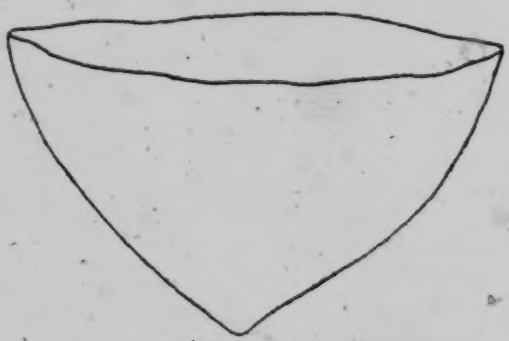


Fig. 38. Shape of North Andaman pot; actual diameter 17 cm.

In the North Andaman the pots are made with pointed bottoms, and are generally small, the largest having a capacity of only six or seven pints. They are made by women only. In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms and, on the average, are larger and thicker than those of the North Andaman. They are made by both men and women, the best being made by men. In the Little Andaman the pots are larger, and, particularly, deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have somewhat pointed bottoms. The pots of the Jarawa are similar to those of the Little Andaman.

In the North Andaman pots are not ornamented, but in the South Andaman they are decorated with usually simple patterns of dots and lines made with a small pointed stick. The Little Andaman pots that I have seen were not decorated.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

302 white clay, and with red paint made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with fat or oil. The natives of the Little Andaman use the same kind of clay as that called *ɔdu* or *ɔg* in the Great Andaman, but instead of applying it in patterns they smear it roughly on the back and front of the trunk. They also use red paint, with which they smear their hair, a practice never met with in the Great Andaman.

ORNAMENTATION.

302 531 The Andamanese have simple designs which they paint or incise

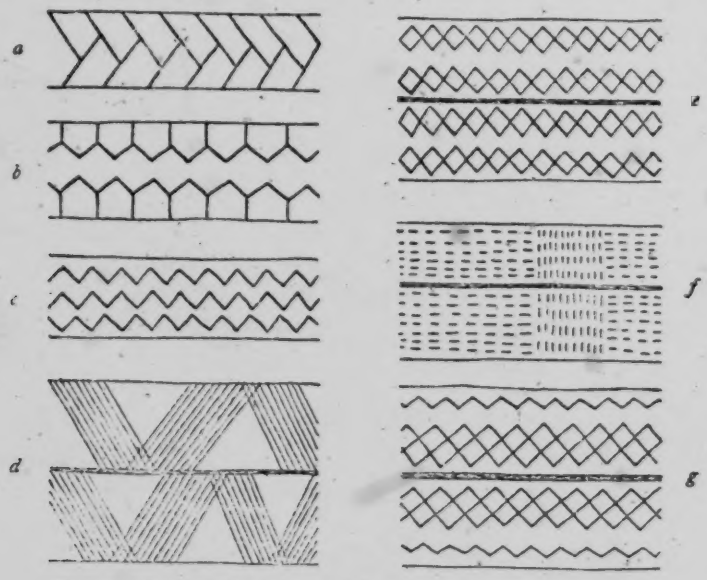


Fig. 42. Designs incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf, Great Andaman

on their bodies and on a great number of the objects that they make and use. A few typical designs such as are incised or painted on belts of *Pandanus* leaf are shown in Fig. 42. A very large number of designs are based on the zig-zag line. Examples are shown in Fig. 42 *c*, *e*, and *g*. In all parts of the Great Andaman and also in the Little Andaman the zig-zag line is associated with snakes. Thus in the Little Andaman the simple zig-zag line is called *dobo kwolage* (*dobo* = snake). In the North Andaman the design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay is called *or-čubi t'era-bat*, *or-čubi* being the name of a species of large snake.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*.

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

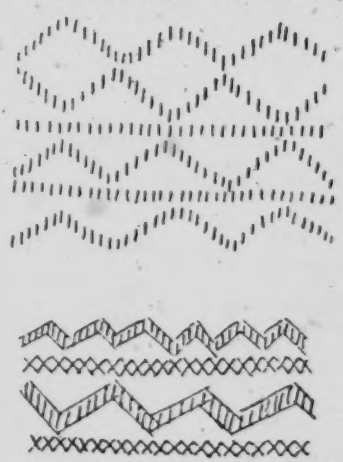


Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty.

CANOES.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars.

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

501 canoe). The strip of cane passing from the boom round the float and
396 back to the boom again provides a resistance against any lateral thrust on the float. The three sticks, being driven in when the wood of the float is dry, do not readily work loose, as the water in which it is constantly immersed keeps the wood swollen. The cane binding, including the stays on each side, may work loose, but can readily be tightened or renewed. Each of the booms is attached to the float in exactly the same way, and the whole arrangement is very efficient in keeping the float rigidly attached to the hull in such a position that it rests on the surface of the water when the hull itself rides freely balanced.

501 Canoes of this type vary in dimensions within wide limits. A small canoe with only three booms, which would carry three persons, measured 4·85 metres in length over all with a beam of about 35 centimetres. A large canoe may measure as much as 9 metres with a proportionate beam.

Fig. 45. Showing manner in which the boom (*a*) is connected with the float (*b*).

A well-made canoe will often balance well enough as it stands, but it is sometimes necessary to balance it with ballast of stones or pieces of coral. In any case the canoe is easily overturned in a rough sea unless the occupants can maintain the balance with their bodies. As the canoe is made of light wood it cannot sink even when full of water, and the natives easily right an overturned canoe, bale it out, and get in again, even in a rough sea.

The furniture of a canoe consists of the ballast (of stone), a piece of stone (or sometimes a piece of tin) on which to keep a small fire smouldering, an anchor consisting of a lump of coral or stone attached to a length of rope, a *Nautilus* shell or two for baling out the canoe, a bamboo pole of about 18 feet in length for poling the canoe in shallow water, and paddles.

In the platform overhanging the prow a few holes are cut. These holes are sometimes used to attach the rope by which the canoe is fastened to an anchor. One or more turtle skulls are often attached so as to hang down beneath the platform. In turtle-hunting expeditions on dark nights a torch is slung beneath the forward platform so as to shed its light on the water while the harpooner remains in shadow.

501 When a canoe is finished it is decorated with designs painted on it
531 with red paint and white clay, particularly on the forward platform and

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

deep water, by paddles (*wāl'igma-*[1]), the size of which is not determined by custom, but varies according to the whim of the maker and the size of the piece of wood (generally of the *Myristica longifolia*) at his disposal[2]; all, whether small or large, are used indiscriminately, either with the outriggers or simple "dug-outs;" paddles are never made by women, to whom, however, their ornamentation with *kòi'ob-* and *ká'ngatá-būj-* is afterwards entrusted.[3]

Ornamentation.—1. While the Andamanese habitually ornament their various utensils, weapons, &c., they never attempt to show their talent or originality by representing natural objects, or by devising a new pattern, but slavishly adhere to those which custom has prescribed for each article.[4]

2. These designs are executed by means of a *Cyrena* shell, or are painted in *kòi'ob-*, *tâ'la-ōg-*, or *ká'ngatâ-būj-*; occasionally they content themselves with smearing the entire surface of the object with either of the two first-named pigments, but more often a background is thus formed for the better display of further embellishments.

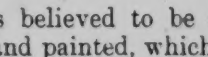
3. These three substances supply their only colours, *i.e.*: brick-red (*kòi'ob-*), white (*tâ'la-ōg-*), and brown (*ká'ngatá-būj-*).

4. Small land and sea shells[5] (especially the *Dentalium octogonum*), certain seeds and bones are much prized, not only for making personal ornaments, but also for the adornment of weapons and implements, as well as the human skulls and jawbones which they often wear and carry about with them.

5. It may be added that the details of ornamentation are in most cases subordinate to the general form and outline of the object in question.

6. The following is believed to be a complete list of the designs,[6] both carved and painted, which are in use:—

I. CHEVRONS (*jô'bo-tàrtâ'nga-*).



Painted with *kòi'ob-* or *tâ'la-ōg-* on bows, buckets, canoes, and paddles.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 11*a*.

[2] Dr. Mouat states (p. 319) that they are made of three sizes, and (p. 320) that "the work of making them is entrusted solely to the women and children," but I have failed in discovering any foundation for these assertions.

[3] The canoes, too, are often similarly ornamented, especially when new.

[4] Of enamelling they possess no knowledge.

[5] Beads, when offered by us, are gladly accepted for use in lieu of small shells.

[6] When it is stated that all these designs are executed by means of pointed sticks, shells, or even the finger-tips, it is scarcely necessary to add that they fall far short of the neatness and mathematical precision characterising most of these illustrations, which therefore can only be taken as representing the particular pattern *attempted*.

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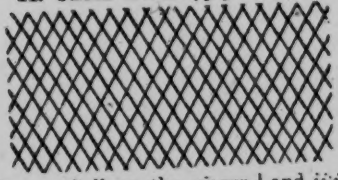
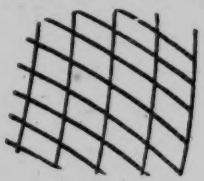
II. Cross Lines (*ig-yĭ·tinga-*).



Cut by means of a *Cyrena* shell on the *rō·gun-*[1] and *ij·i-gō·nga-*,[2] and painted with *tá·la-ōg-*, between parallel lines, on the sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3])

III. Cross Lines (*ig-bar·nga-*).

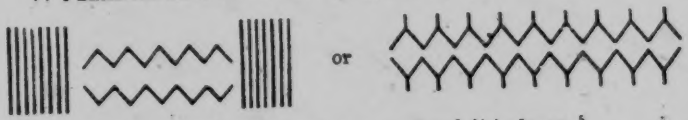


Painted on the outer surface of baskets, the vertical lines with *kòi·ob-*, and the oblique ones with *tá·la-ōg-*.

IV. Parallel Lines (*ig-ō·inga-*)

Painted with *kòi·ob-* or *tá·la-ōg-* across handle of paddle.

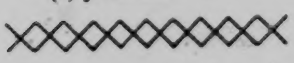
V. Parallel Lines and Zigzag (*jō·bo-tàrtä·nga-* or *tō·nanga-*).



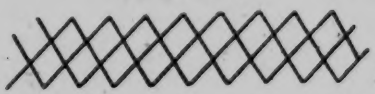
Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* on *rō·gun-*[4] and *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[5]

VI. Lozenge Pattern.

(*a*) *jō·bo-tàrtä·nga-*



(*b*) *igē·unga-*.



Painted with *tá·la-ōg-* or *ká·ngatá-bŭj-*, on *rō·gun-*,[4] *ij·i-gō·nga-*,[5] *ó·do-*,[6] and *pū·kuta-*.[7]

[1] Waistbelt, worn by married women only.
[2] Chaplet, worn by both sexes.
[3] Sounding board, used in keeping time for dancers.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 26.
[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 31.
[6] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.
[7] *pū·kuta-yát-māk·nga-*, wooden tray used at meals.

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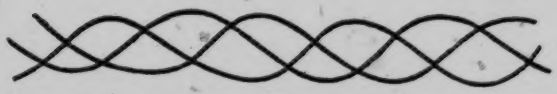
VII. PLAIT ORNAMENT OR GUILLOCHE (*poliòr·nga*).

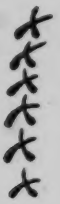


Painted with *tə́la-ōg-* on bows and eating trays.

VIII. FISH-BONE (*bar·nga-*).

Painted on *chīp-*.[1]

IX. CROSS INCISIONS (*igĕ·unga-*) (*? ig-yi·tinga-*).



Cut by means of a *Cyrena* shell on bows (*kā·rama-*), and handles of adzes (*wō·lo-*).

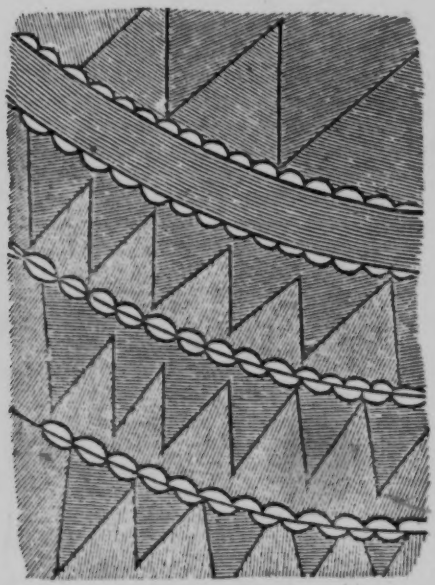
X. LOOP PATTERN (*ōt-ĕ·nga-*).

Painted with *tā·la-ōg-* on the *chī·di-*

[1] Sling or belt, worn like a sash by men and women for carrying children.
[2] *Pinna* shell, used as a plate or tray.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

XI. VANDYKES WITH SCOLLOPED BANDS AND CROSS LINES (? *ig-pòi-nyakŋga-*). 531



Painted with *kâ-ngatá-bŭj-* on *ó-do-*[1]

Pottery.—1. These savages evince a superiority over the Australians, Tasmanians, Fuegeans, and many of the Pacific Islanders, in possessing some knowledge of the art of making pots. 323 172

2. It was formerly believed that they had "no vessel capable of resisting the action of fire,"[2] but careful examination of their kitchen-middens has proved, beyond all doubt, that their present manufacture was equalled—if indeed it were not surpassed—many generations ago by their ancestors; the traditions current among them on the subject may also be mentioned, in passing, as pointing to a like conclusion.

3. The late Dr. Stoliczka, in his interesting paper on the Andamanese kitchen-middens,[3] writes as follows:—"In submitting the rude fragments of pottery . . . to an archæologist in Europe, no one would long hesitate in referring them to the

[1] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.

[2] *Vide* Symes, who is also incorrect in adding in a footnote: "The fragments of earthenware vessels mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke were probably brought from the Nicobars or from the Continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned" (*i.e.*, of the *Collocalia nidifica*).

[3] *Vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

283 286 thigh, and the cuticle is removed by means of the *Cyrena* shell; the underlying white fibres are left for a week or ten days in the sun until thoroughly dry, when they separate readily, and are easily worked up into fine or coarse twine, as may be required by the manipulator.

283 824 3. The fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (*yō·lba-*) is chiefly used for making bowstrings, reticules (*chā·panga-*), necklaces, and twine for arrow fastenings; its manufacture is accordingly not restricted to either sex. When the bark has been stripped off, in lengths of 8 to 15 inches, the operator presses the inner portion upon his (or her) thigh, and then rapidly but carefully passes a *Cyrena* shell along the outer surface until the fibres alone remain; these are then, as in the previous cases, dried in the sun, or before a fire; when a sufficient supply of material has been thus obtained, it is made into fine twine or, if not required for immediate use, wrapped in leaves in order that it may be kept fresh. Although apparently free [262] from any obnoxious properties, this plant, as well as the fibres obtained therefrom, until it is converted into twine or bowstrings, is believed by the Andamanese to render the flesh of a turtle uneatable if placed near it; consequently this meat, when inadvertently so contaminated, is thrown away; further, no one who has been collecting *yō·lba-*, or who has been engaged in preparing the fibre, can (for a period extending to three days) be allowed to cook a turtle, or even to accompany a party engaged [845] on a turtling expedition! Sharks and other dangerous fish are also credited with having so wholesome a horror or detestation of this plant (and also of *Cyrena* shells!) that the aborigines are in the habit of attaching some *yō·lba-*, or *Cyrena* shells (or both), to their cinctures as a safeguard when about to swim in parts believed to be infested by these creatures.

[531] 4. The yellow skin of the root of a certain orchid, called *rā-*, which is commonly found on trees near the shore, is often seen intertwined with their *yō·lba-* string, in personal ornaments, and occasionally in the decoration of weapons, but where strength is a requisite it is of course not used.

5. Bowstrings of *pī·lita-* and *yō·lba-* are made in the manner described in the manufacture of *al·ga-* rope, but ordinary string is made in the following manner:—a few of the prepared filaments are twisted into a yarn on the thigh with the palm of the hand; when two lengths have been obtained, they are together rolled into string of the desired strength, and beeswax is smeared over it to make assurance doubly sure.

6. Twine, made from the *yō·lba-*, is used in netting the fine chains (*rāb-*[1]) and the reticules (*chā·panga-*[2]); for turtle-

[1] *Vide ante*, "Death and Burial," paragraph 5, and Appendix B, item 42.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 22.

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ongе-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ongе-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ongе-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ongе-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ongе-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ongе-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ongе-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

[302] [531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ongе-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ongе-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ongе-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ongе-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ongе-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

●531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

there were no Andamanese there,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambobui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat, fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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[facing P 66, B]

/2 . . . Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 *Above top* A group of Onges resting against the buttress roots of a tree. The man in the centre is smoking a crab-claw pipe
4 *Above* A typical example of tight binding of the body as a cure for disease
2 *Left* Two examples of the geometric patterns which are painted on the face and torso

[facing P. 66, C]

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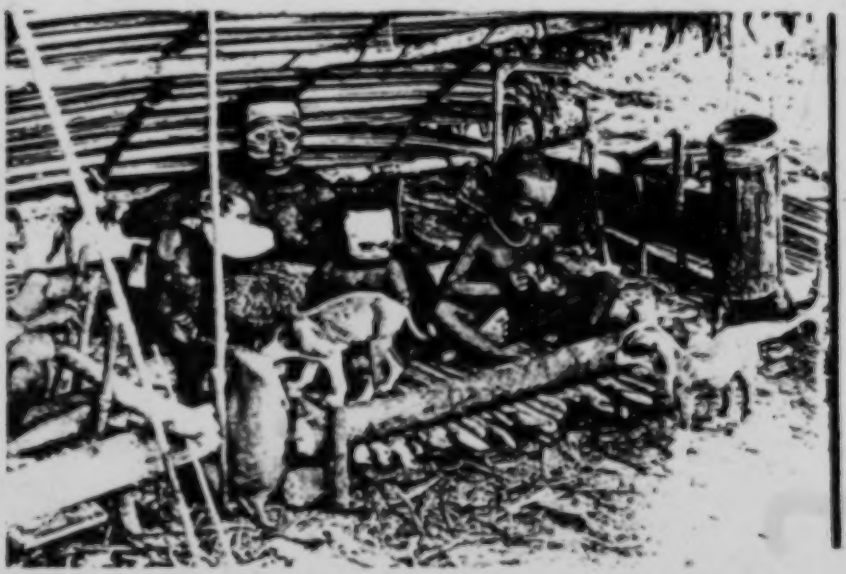

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

172

[facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-1 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occasionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of ownership, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stern, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

11: Ciptani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

252 372 824 782 222

their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

171 224

The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

171

The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

224 531 462

The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed. There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.